1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oibeni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore ăji 'N-gaminĭni ten ŏyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminĭni are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

Ten eiyŏuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nĕyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ŏji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Mepika ninje 'l-ŏpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

The girls' circumcision.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned.

When they recover, they are married.

E-unoto.

Ten eiyŏu 'l-muran nĕuni, nepwo aañgas ăiñgoru Ol-aunŏni, na ol-tuñgani ŏata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gĭshu, neitu ae-oloñg ĕar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek puai[2].

Ore pe etum, nemiliki;

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunŏni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Puai (pl. puai) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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eisudorieki metebana nebau e-unoto.

Ore ten enyoru ol-oiboni, neripúkíni ol-kila anaa ol-loo-'l-móruak oo 'surutya.

Ore etaa en-nôuni, neitaumi en-giti-añg ti-aulo e-manyata naji O-singira.

Nepiki inna-kiti-añg 'n-giabu naalepo ake.

Ore inna-oloñg nauni, neibuñgi ol-aunôni, amu ten ájókíni: 'Ira ol-aunôni,' eitu eibuñgi, nekwet aisudori, araki ŝar ol-tuñgani, pe meaku ol-aunôni, amu eiba ten eaku ol-móruo, amu meitôki ale en-jore.

[887]

Ore p' eibuñgi, nepiki 'surutya, neishopôkíni ol-kila anaa ol-móruo; neidipayu engias e-inna-oloñg.

Ore tadôkenya neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg arua, neibok il-murran aaman.

Ore pe epwo 'n-giabu shoo, neiñgoruni ol-tuñgani ôgol eibuñg ol-kiteñg e-môco aun, neibuñg ol-likae o-sararua.

[231]

Neremi illo-kiteñg embidiñg, nêyañgi te-inne.

Neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok to-'l-osingo le-'manyata, nepik e-môco o-'l-oôwan.

a one, they do not inform him; it is kept hidden from him until the time for the celebration of the feast arrives.

If the chief medicine-man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief like those worn by the old men, and surutya ear-rings are obtained.

Just before the feast a small kraal, called O-singira, is built a short distance from the warriors' kraal.

Only milch cows are placed in this kraal.

On the day of the feast the chief is seized, for if he were told that he is to be chosen, he would run away and hide, or kill some one. The idea of becoming an old man is distasteful to him, since he will be unable to again go to the wars.

When he has been seized, the surutya ear-rings are put on him, and he is clothed like an old man. After this the work for the day is over.

On the morrow a black bullock with a white neck and belly is sought out from the herds, and surrounded by the warriors.

When the cattle go to the grazing ground, a strong man is chosen, who holds the bullock by the horn at arm's length, whilst another one seizes it by the navel.

The bullock is stabbed in the nape of the neck[1], and skinned on the spot.

The old men then light a big fire in the centre of the warriors' kraal, and throw a buffalo horn into it.

[113]

[1] All the Nilotic tribes butcher their cattle by stabbing them in the nape of the neck (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 60).

1; Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore ɣ' aaku en-aŋŋ eŋ-gima, aŋjikini 'l-murran, anre eitaabo pikin ti-eale: 'Eilipa.'

Nakwet il-murran pikin amurutikino idye-nitoo.

Ore el-oitera abaiki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, aeitan e-nitoo, aeitório eng-aina, aitadoi il-kulikae idye-nitoo, aŋjo: 'Ailipa.'

Ɔnaa, aeilipaya e-enoto.

Neberri el-eunóni te-inna-ailig o el-aigwenani ñatai epa ake eton eita emurati.

Neberri ai ninje 'l-kulikae-murua too-'n-guiye-eiolĝi.

Ore ɣ' eilipi aatuun, aŋyelgiaho 'l-murran, netoni 'l-epaitin oolĝwan ana inyat, nepwo ɣu-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'enoto.

Neishop 'l-karsah oeji ai 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arsah.

Nepik ai 'n-gik e-'eyaiti 'murto naaji 'maŋgik, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidólĝi le-'l-kumbae araki 'l-iaeyuk le-maeye.

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

With this the E-enoto feast terminates.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. [292] [804]

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-eyaiti tree[4], and called Maŋgik, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. [301] [824] [293]

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins were together worn[2] worn. [2] *N-dorosi* garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[3] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. [286] [621]

[3] *Zanthoxylum tomentosum*, E. Br. [4] *Acacia fistulosa*, Forsk.

*C48 1919

disturbed their old formations, adventurers of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realisation which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an existence which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realise how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their cattle, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the famine and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Ngurumun, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Morans," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Morans" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Nyiis," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Morans" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Morans."

The effect of the military organisation.

This military organisation of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they occupied in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, Preface, 1905, Introduction to "The Masai, Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

(b) Headmen in the Masai Reserve.

Location No.	Division.	Headmen.	Date of appointment under the Nat. Auth. Order., 1912.	Annual Salary.	Remarks.
1	Siria	Tarosi	8/8/13	Rs. 120	2 Boriskori.
		Kedelle Ole Ngolgilla ..	8/8/14 & 18/4/15	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Kedenya	7/1/15	Nil	Siria Manze
2	Loita	Seuben	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kaaba, Senior ..	18/4/15	Nil	—
		Ole Kaaba, Junior ..	—	Nil	Manze.
		Ole Mati	7/1/15	Nil	Loita Manze.
	Sabi	Ol Ol Tiguna	—	Nil	Manze.
	L'Ongwak	Ol Ontuno	14/2/14	Nil	—
3	Purko	Ole Gelidon	18/4/15	Rs. 600	Mara area.
		Ole Masilonsoli	18/4/15	Rs. 600	Kisoki area.
		Ole Kotikosh	8/8/13	Rs. 240	Lemek.
		Ole Kerio	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kenkoke	18/4/15	Nil	Narosura area.
		Ole Yoi	—	Paid	—
		Ole Nkiti	—	Nil	—
		Ole Nelieli	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kaputiei	—	Nil	—
		Ole Peri	7/1/15	Nil	Purko Manze.
		Ole Morijoi	7/1/15	Nil	2 Kisonyoi Manze.
		Ole Kenkoneke	7/1/15	Nil	2 Kenkoke Manze.
		Ol Ojonjo	7/1/15	Nil	2 Polyoni Manze.
		Ole Tarosa	7/1/15	Nil	L'Aimer Manze.
		Ole Lenkoiga	—	Nil	Manze.
		Ole Kojogo	7/1/15	Rs. 240	L'Aimer Manze.
	2 Dumat	Ole Katalgo	8/8/13 & 18/4/15	Rs. 120	2 Kedil area.
		Ole Morijoi	7/1/15	Nil	2 Dumat Manze.
	[illegible]	[illegible] ..	18/4/15	—	—
		Ruoki	—	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Setoiba	7/1/15	Nil	Kokonyokye Manze.
		Ole Sapau	7/1/15	Nil	2 Pongore Manze.
		Ole Kenkiki	7/1/15	Nil	2 Kedimoi Manze.
4	L'Ole Kissi ..	Ole Nailoua	8/7/14 & 18/4/15	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Gagaiyi	24/10/14	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Kenkoke	—	Nil	—
	Ngurumen	Ole Sasinga	—	Nil	Manze.
6	Matapato	Ole Olsi	8/8/13	—	—
		Ole Olokonio	18/4/15	—	—
		Ole Keli	8/8/14	Rs. 120	—
7	Siglimoi	Saggi Ole Lemeen	18/4/15	Rs. 1,800	Loibon.
	(Engidongi)	Ngurunya	18/4/15	Rs. 720	—
	2 Dalu Lukumai ..	Ole Mange	8/8/14 & 18/4/15	Nil	—
		Ole Senkoone	24/10/14	Rs. 120	Manze.
8	Kapeiki	Kipanga Ole Kasi	18/4/15	—	—
		Ole Mabeu	—	Nil	—
		Ole Meyeri	8/8/13	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Nasai	24/10/14	Rs. 120	Kapeiki Manze.
9	Siglimoi	Kedelle Ole Kenkelle ..	18/4/15	Paid	—
	(Lukumai)	Ole Mage	—	Nil	Manze.
	Wuaikombo	Ole Nankidon	22/11/15	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Sayalel	—	Nil	Manze.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lygonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lygonani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lygonani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngái-ái! Aman Mbaratien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!"). Previous to this, how-

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognised Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

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634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 692 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 648 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 648 791 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Segi. It was as Paramount Chief that Segi, through his Regent Legalishu, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve. 175 648 791

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Segi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Segi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chiefship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinsmen groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 22 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (L'aigwanak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Moran added. Moran L'aigwanak were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Moran, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Moran held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the L'aigwanak by the Masai themselves. 175 648 623

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance 22 of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their 175 648 622

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kururi, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Eadaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Panda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Laruess, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirialish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.